European Languages and Cultures
Year 1
Summary : European Politics and Society
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This summary was based on the course provided in 2017/2018. Readings and details might have changed.
Use this summary as a reference but don't rely on it fully.

Lecture 14-11

14 November 2017   11:07

Themes and conflict in European politics and society
Polarisation -> leads to a declining support for democracy.

Issues and themes of European politics and society in an age of uncertainty and discontent:
- Historical **legacies** of war, revolutions, colonialism, genocide, ethnic nationalism and crimes against humanity in Europe. Twentieth century Europe was a place you didn't want to be because of all the murder and destruction -> comparable to modern-day Syria.
- Democratic (vs. autocratic) **institutions**, national political cultures, and the European "democratic deficit" -> standards of democracy and civil & human rights. Our different national cultures play an important role in shaping our views on, for example, democracy and human rights.
- National government, community, regional, multi-level European governance: **representation & inclusion of citizens**. -> in what way are citizens represented and included in the different levels of government?
- European parties, **party systems, democratic political systems…** Legitimation of crises and the challenge of populism. -> voters tend to vote for polarised parties instead of central parties (as they used to do 20 years ago)
- Societal **conflicts and cleavages (Polarisation)** in longitudinal historical & political perspective -> **Party system change.**
- **Economic crises** and economic/social policies. Economic crises are important in shaping the political landscape.
- Europe's external relations & **foreign policy**: the history and presence of borders, war, peace, cyberwar -> external affairs no longer focused on traditional types of conflict, but also on newer forms (cyberwar)
- European **migration**: Historical & new developments -> look at current developments with historical patterns in mind.

Societal & political cleavages
Long-lasting divisions within society, based on fundamental issues or demographic markers (**Lipset & Rokkan: freezing hypothesis)** -> certain structural divisions are frozen, and determine the political landscape **(=social cleavage**).
Dividing lines in society:

Pre-2000 European party system-cleavage model
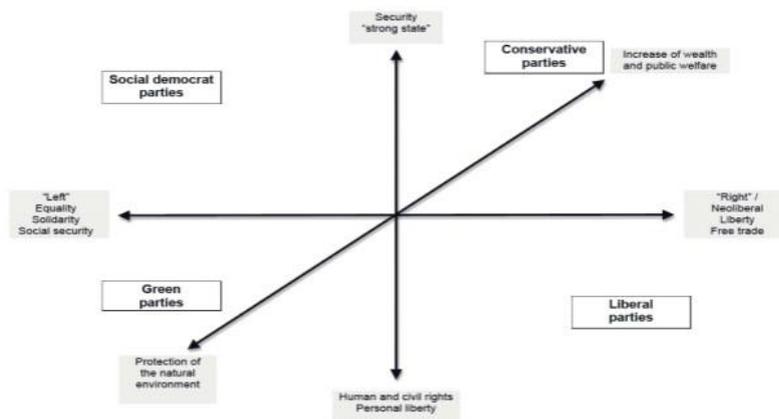
This graph used to apply to most European party systems, but this no longer holds up. -> new questions and divisions are emerging. Major societal and political conflicts:
- Free market vs. state interventionism
- Pro-immigration vs. anti-immigration
- Cosmopolitanism vs. nationalism
- Pro-globalizations vs. anti-globalization (Pro-EU vs. Eurosceptic)
- Authoritarian vs. libertarian social values.

Interstate wars & armed conflicts … and Europe
Europe went from the most hostile continent to a peaceful continent -> argument for European integration.

Paths and features of European modernity
- European modernity is shaped by shared historical heritage and experiences of war, colonialism and genocide.
- European modernity is also shaped by smaller-scale conflicts like class conflicts, social upheaval or democratic revolutions.
- Industrialization, post-industrialisation, first and second globalization all influenced and shaped modern society and its cleavages and thus also influence European modernization.

European pacification, democratization, integration

Pacification: creating and maintaining peace
Democratization: transition from autocratic or totalitarian to a more democratic government and society. (influenced by institution-building, economic development, history, political culture and values).
European integration: a process of horizontal and vertical institutional cooperation (widening and deepening): economic incentives & maintaining peace as consequence of negative experiences.

Critical junctures & path dependency in post-War European history and politics
Critical juncture: big historical crossroads play a crucial role at the beginning of institutional paths.
Path dependency: Critical junctures give rise to path-dependant processes of political systems and institutions. -> institutional arrangements become entrenched and therefore become a frame for future decisions and processes. This predetermines institutional evolution and options of institutional change = **historical institutionalism.**

Major institutions of the EU
Supranational (above the national government -> you leave your nationality 'behind' and work for European politics instead of national politics)
  • European commission
  • European Parliament
  • European Court of Justice
  • European central bank
Intergovernmental: (national governments working together -> you represent you national government)
  • Council of Minister
  • European Council
These terms (**supranational & intergovernmental)** are not reality, they are scholarly terms of interpretation

Seminar notes
Institutions:
  1. A political organ/body/organisation
  2. Norms and values we have in daily life
  3. Legal institutions (Family, church) -> also portray rules about how we should behave.
  4. The constitution -> yet another framework for good behaviour.
Definitions 2, 3 and 4 are similar and never fixed, which means they can change. If this happens we call it **value change.**

EU integration: how our shared norms/values become applicable to more people:
  • **Supranational:** Above national politics -> the nation-states don't represent their own national government.
  • **Intergovernmental ->** interaction between nation-states -> representatives represent their nation government.

Historical institutionalism
A particular value starts at a certain time, and its development in predetermined by the history of this value and how this history has developed. -> cuts of the option of alternatives:
  • **Path dependency:** predetermined path that is very difficult to avert from
  • **Critical juncture:** moment in time where something important happens that might change the predetermined path and steer it in another direction.

Governability of a country suffers from the collapse of the political centre (Reading session 1).
Identity politics: Who you think you are decides what you vote. What you actually want doesn't determine voting anymore.

Lecture 21-11

Coming to terms with the Nazi past
1. Holocaust recognition and genocide as **shared legacy and European "entry ticket":** a **negative founding moment? ->** starting point for something new in Europe.
2. Recognition of Shoah as "guarantee of the continent's restored humanity": **Europe draws political, cultural & legal lessons,** is "bound together by symbols of its terrible past" (Tony Judt).
3. Part of evolution **from etho-national conflict to cosmopolitan, post-national inclusion. ->** get along better with European neighbours.
4. **Memorials commemorating Jewish victims, from Berlin to Stockholm and Brussels: emergence of victim culture**
5. Yet this processing and recovery of memory was a **difficult, long and winding road, with many national variations and historical stages ->** will lapse "unless ceaselessy renewed (Judt)

Different stages of processing, often induced by events or conflicts: Erupting public controversies, Auschwitz trials, popular culture (movies).
Stabilization of democracies: enabled by memory of "crimes against humanity" or rather by repressing the past and focus on institution-building? -> How can we create and stabilize democracies in light of the past. (perpetrators are still among us)
Collective responsibility for national crimes, guilt & collaborations: who is a perpetrator, bystander, collaborator, what is shared responsibility. -> Who is responsible?
Processing authoritarianism and anti-Semitism -> How do we process these concepts, even though they were an important part of 20th century European society.

Judt on coming to terms with the Nazi past:
1. **Collective amnesia:** turn away from past or misremember it? First decade after 1945.
2. In the West "**Vichy Syndrome":** difficult to acknowledge facts of crimes and culprits; block or recast memory to protect fragile bonds of post-War societies (slowly eroding since 1960s)
3. Idealized narratives, "compensatory **national myth-making"** (resistance, victimhood, liberation). -> dominant narratives, were narratives resistance, victimhood and liberation.

Different national legacies of collaboration in Europe -> lead to different national myths & trajectories of coping with the Nazi past. Official **anti-fascist narratives on war** in Eastern European post-War communism -> nearly complete evasion of Holocaust and Jewish victims.

Stop thinking about the past was the main idea after 1945. Major step for recognition of the Nazi past were the **Nazi trials**.
Papon trials illustrates the importance of the recognition -> continued committing crimes as an official. -> made people realize the importance of Nazi-past recollection.
Films and other cultural representation also played a role in creating a more open attitude towards Holocaust recognition.

There is still a **contested relevance of coming to terms with the past of European democracy and identity:**
- **Unmastered legacies vs. Memory of genocide**
  For example: *Zvi Rix:* "the Germans will never forgive the Jews for Auschwitz" and *F.J. Strauss:* "A people that has achieved such remarkable economic success has the right not to hear any more about Auschwitz". -> Strong indicators of **unmastered legacies:** the desire to put the past behind us and move on.
  This in contrast to the European memory of genocide as **part of our identity**
- **Coping with guilt as important aspect of democratization vs. Tyranny of guilt**
  There exists a discourse between **learning and forgetting** within Europe.
  Tony Judt: "radical evil as Nazi Germany's can never be satisfactorily remembered" **VS.** Tyranny of guilt (*P. Bruckner*) -> to much remembrance culture

Adorno vs. Bruckner

Adorno (1955/59)

➤ Critique of mechanisms of defense, denial of guilt

➤ Aiming at national rehabilitation, idealized national glory

➤ Downplaying, denying or relativizing perpetrators' and nation's collective responsibility

Bruckner (2010)

➤ No shortage of reasons for guilt for colonialism and genocide, but Europeans consumed by remorse

➤ Obsessive guilt obscures political realities, Europe/the West has no monopoly on evil, created and destroyed "monsters"

➤ "Western masochism"

Authoritarian political cultures

- **Political culture:** the set of attitudes, values, beliefs, and "mentalities" underlying a political order and the rules and processes that govern behavior in the political system (including dominant political ideals and operating norms of a polity)
- **Authoritarianism:** form of government with centralized powers and limited civil rights and freedoms, or social values supportive of strict order, submission to authority, and limited freedom
- **Authoritarian political culture:** support of authoritarian regimes and restrictions of freedom in a society's underlying dominant norms, values, attitudes behavioural orientations

An autocratic political system can change overnight (Revolutions), transformations of Authoritarian political cultures can take decades. **-> societies don't change overnight.**

Ideologies

- **Modern antisemitism:** resentment, discrimination against Jews, and modern world-view (conspiracy myth as world explanation)

- **Modern racism:** resentment, discrimination against ethnic minorities, implying "race-based" hierarchy among peoples **(➔Othering)**

- **Ethnic nationalism:** ethnically or racially based ideology/world-view defining a national community or (European) nation-state, implying the exclusion or inferiority of others with different ethnic origins

- **Pan-nationalism:** Ethnic, racial or nationalist claims to territory or (clustered) group superiority across and beyond the boundaries of existing nation-states

Lecture 28 - 11

28 November 2017   11:21

We look at authors that proclaim there is a difference between communism / nazism and previous autocracies. ->
Propaganda -> the leader is portrayed as strong and caring

Interrelated traits of autocracies:
1. **Modern ideology:** official doctrine. Closed world view -> might change over time
2. **Single mass party led by one man**. Only a small part of society was part of the party. Small part controlled the largest part of society.
3. **System of terror** directed not just against political enemies. -> systematic deployment of large scale political violence.
4. **Monopoly of control over mass communication** -> control of mass media
5. **Monopoly of weapons** and armed combat. -> democracies also have this monopoly.
6. **Central control of economy.** Planned economy.

Totalitarian dictatorship: the structural/institutional
Different claims:
- **Communist and fascist totalitarian dictatorships are "basically alike" (**More so than other autocracies).
- **Claims to "true democracy"** (vs. constitutional democracy) -> totalitarian rule is conditioned by democracy: perverted descendants of modern parties. -> according to totalitarian regimes, the represent the **true democracy** -> they are therefore conditioned by democracy.
- Not initially designed -> they are a form of **crisis management** and they are a product of political situations
- 4 out of the 6 abovementioned traits are **technologically conditioned.**

They are not fixed entities but **state-centered**: the regime controls hostile population, the party taking a people as hostage. -> a small portion of the population controls the masses. They strive to control every aspect of society.
This control however, is not the innovation of totalitarian regimes -> but its **new form of organization & technology** is what is novel about totalitarianism.

The Arendtian view
This dynamic view focusses more on the evolution of totalitarianism.
A genealogy of "**unprecedented" regimes** that constitute a break with history: There is something different about totalitarianism (Nazism and communism) compared to other autocratic governments.
- They pose a **modern ideology** and perceive this as a total, comprehensive worldview.
- They have a **modern atomized mass/"labour" society** in which the individuals no longer matter -> leads to a loss of community and social bonds.

These to conditions are not sufficient to explain totalitarianism. -> **Friedrich and Brzezinski** introduce 6 characteristics of Totalitarianism.

While trying to understand totalitarianism, Arendt came up with a few claims:
1. Totalitarian rule is based on **supra-human laws** which eradicate politics and human (inter)action. It creates a society in which everything you do as an individual doesn't matter -> The law of History will progress anyway. These supra-human law (**History & Nature**) cannot be stopped, only slowed down -> eradicates the importance of human interaction.
2. Execution of the laws of History/Nature = the execution of **objective enemies**. These enemies were based on ideology (Nazism -> inferior races, Communism -> the dying class). The idea behind this mass killing is that, according to the laws of nature/history, these people would die anyway so why not help the law.
3. Lawful or lawless government -> totalitarianism was neither lawful nor lawless -> new meaning of law: Adhering to the laws of Nature/History.
4. Totalitarianism aims at **destroying the plurality of man** & its freedom -> it destroyed political and public life
5. Totalitarianism is based around **terror**: Concentration camps were the key institution of the Nazi regime with the purpose of committing Genocide
6. Totalitarianism in an **anti-state**: the totalitarian movements destroy institutions in their society -> eventually leading to self-destruction.

Aftermath of totalitarianism in post-totalitarian society:
1. Contested meaning of totalitarian terror across Europe: Ideologies, victims, perpetrators -> shapes our society.

2. Can genocide and totalitarianism happen again? How fragile are the institutions that protect us from this happening again.
3. The threat of extremism, ideological legacies, and radical evil in post-totalitarian society. -> still a threat in modern society.

Arendt on the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem - Eichmann in Jerusalem
Banality of evil: mindless bureaucrat who lack the capacity to speak, think or judge for themselves are capable of horrible deeds when just following order. -> is allowed by modern totalitarianism.
However, following orders/obeying the positive law can be criminal -> **Eichmann** got convicted because: "No human can be expected to liv on the same earth with Eichmann after his crimes against humanity" - **Arendt.**

The Legacy of Crimes against Humanity in Europe and Beyond
1. Holocaust in an **age of genocide**
   Sovereign law is not absolute -> **CaH** are negative ground for the creation of human rights.
2. Growth of **IGOs and international law** in response to WW II and crimes against humanity. (creation of UN, EU, Universal declaration of human rights)
3. The **end of empires:** Britain lest colonies, France fought and lost -> **national self-determination**
4. Also legacy of **collapse of sovereign state system** in totalitarianism. Totalitarianism doesn't care for national borders -> sovereign states didn't exists in their eyes. -> Rise of human rights
5. Human rights are based on a backdrop of crimes against humanity.

Seminar notes
Dialectics: two positions that are antagonistic to each other -> eventually reconcile in a third possibility/position. Become a political term. **Marx: materialistic dialectics ->** ruling class vs. proletariat (two antagonistic positions), will eventually lead to communism. According to Marx these dialectics shaped society.
He uses dialectics to understand the modern world.

What is new according to Arendt:
The Terror -> scale of the murders and the centrality of it in the ideology. Why would they do that? There must be something different from a lawful government or a dictatorship (lawless government). In order to answer these questions we must understand the totalitarian ideologies.

Arendt on Human rights
Once you don't have a nationality you don't have human rights:
• How do you enforce human rights outside the sovereign state (**legal question)**
• Once you don't have citizenship you don't have a voice/influence in society anymore (**Political question**)

Antistate -> totalitarianism strives to destroy institutions -> will eventually lead to destroying itself. The state is not the highest law but the laws of History/Nature are.

Positive law: laws that are valid at a certain point in time.
People in trial use the argument that they just obeyed the law of the land to prove their innocence. -> you can get prosecuted for obeying such laws.

Lecture 05 - 12

Stalinist regime was vanguard in refabricating history -> Trotsky was perceives as a traitor -> removed from pictures.

Marxism
Karl Marx -> **Historical Materialism:** Material conditions and structures (=**economic base**), primarily determine out life. Not ideas, culture, norms (=**superstructure).**
Economic **relation of production** matter most -> are you a worker or factory owner? -> determines your place in society.
Is Marx to be held accountable for the crimes that communist regimes committed?
Structural and historical **antagonism** between capitalist class and the working class. -> **Dialects** eventually leads to a new synthesis: **dictatorship of the proletariat & classless society**.
Marxism went from an idea to a political ideology to a **doctrine** (belief system and body of ideas, principles or dogma).
Based on Marxist ideas, **revolutionary vanguard** organizations seizing control of the government (**Leninism**) -> imposed autocratic leadership and **dictatorship of the proletariat. -> Communism** as social political organization based on Marxism-Leninism.

Post-Communist Legacies in Eastern Europe (Shafir)
1. Triple transition challenges: **national borders, property redistribution and democratization.**
2. Decades of **autocratic decision-making in dictatorship**
3. Democratic centralism -> without democratic procedures or a free public.
Fiction of "popular will" and "popular support": **Illusion of input legitimacy. ->** creating the illusion of being democratic (fake elections) while being autocratic.

Legacies according to Shafir:
- Authoritarian political culture society & political ideology of Communist dictatorship -> a specific set of political ideas and world-views
- **No experience with freedom of ideas** or democratic participation -> there was only underground, dissident activity (Samizdat).
- Social relations marked my social control, suspicion, system of lies -> system of government spies damaging private and community relations.

Three post-Communist centres of gravity (Shafir)
1. Those attached to the pre-Communist golden past
2. Those attached to the better aspects of communism -> authoritarian protection, social equality, security)
3. Those seeking a better future -> western democracy
Two groups of post-Communist intellectuals: Westernizing liberals vs. nativist right

Kitschelt: Pre-communist heritage influenced the type of communist rule -> type of communist rule shapes post-Communist democracy.
Types of post-Communist systems and politics:
1. Extreme polarization: Communist successors & anti-Communist
2. Strong moderate right parties with exclusionary appeal
3. Communist successor parties with red-brown alliances

Explanation why communism fell
1. **Mikhail Gorbachev** induced new norms, perceptions and identities -> economic and democratic reforms and opening of the Communist World -> **change of interest and identities of Communist world ->** Social constructivism
2. A fatally flawed, **centralized economic planning system** -> losing system competition
3. **Humanist ideals, dissidents, opposition by means of samizdat** -> people could only demonstrate because of a precondition (limited freedom granted by Gorbachev).

Oppositions:
- Reformist dissidents within communist parties
- Civil society dissidents
- Church opposition
- Counterculture
- Old nationalist opposition

Independent **pluralistic organization from below,** non-violent change that built up in social movements and language of change over years.

Gender relations in Post-communist societies

Gender sill matters in society, politics and culture -> states with high HDI was low gender inequality.

What comes after communism - Michael Shafir

01 December 2017   20:41

Why did the soviet model prove to be so attractive to intellectuals, and why is it still attractive?

Does communism have a future and if so in which format?
Six defining features of communist systems:
- The monopoly of power of the Communist party
- Democratic centralism
- Non-capitalist ownership pf the means of production
- The dominance of a command economy, as distinct form a market economy
- The declared aim of building communism
- The existence of, and sense of belonging to, and international communist movement

Archie Brown: the last two features of almost completely disappeared.

Walter Laquer: warned about the danger of burying communism to early. Its heritage could be with us for a long time -> there might be attempts to restore, at least, some major components of communism. According to **Ken Jowitt** the extinction of Leninist regimes created a situation where chaos dominates. -> international communist movement might be replaced by 'movements of rage'.

General comparative studies on transitions make a distinction between **completed democratic distinctions** and **consolidated democracies.**

Leslie Holmes: the delegitimation of Marxism of a global scale. -> result, shown by **Andrew Janos**,: The replacement of one international regime (communism) by another (capitalist system). -> **Institutional monocropping:**
> the imposition of blueprints based on idealized versions of Anglo-American institutions, the applicability of which is presumed to transcend national circumstances and cultures. - *Peter Evans*
> From <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/BF02686327>

Highly unlikely to last long because it disregards the importer's socio-economic, social and political development.

Claus Offe: the social and political forces emerging in the aftermath of state socialism could be envisaged as being split among three centres of gravity:
1. Those whose referential **positive history** is directed towards a Pre-Communist past
2. Those who direct their affective attachments to the (better aspects of the) communist past
3. Those seeking to achieve a better future through the emulation of Western democratic capitalism.

Hybrids:
- Ideological alliance of the two pasts, which appals to statist-authoritarian protection and ethnic patriotism (combination of 1 + 2)
- Nationalist-liberal hybrid, an alliance of the economic modernizers with the patriotic or regionalist conservatives (combination of 1 + 3)
- Liberal-social democratic alliance, which would retain come transformed welfare state guarantees of the old regime, while combining it with the economic institutions of democratic capitalism (combination of 2 + 3)

Which factors influenced which option they chose? -> **Jeffrey Kopstein and David Reilly:** possible to see two different, stable post-communist outcomes of the transitions: One Western and the other decidedly not Western. -> suggested spatially dependent diffusion of norms, resources, and institutions that are necessary to the construction of political democracies and market economies in the post-communist era.

However certain records of developments showed that the distance-from-the-west conclusion was invalid.

Kitschelt distinguishes three different types of communist rule:

- **Patrimonial communism:** reliance on vertical chains of personal dependence between the leaders in the state and party apparatus and their entourage. -> power is concentrated around a small party or individual ruler. (**Bulgaria**). In extreme cases even **sultanistic rule** of an individual and his family.
- **National-accommodative communism**: more developed formal rational-bureaucratic governance structure -> permit modest levels of civil rights and elite criticism, while relying more on cooptation then on oppression of citizens. -> give a little bit in order to stay in power (**Modern day enlightened despotism??**)
- **Bureaucratic-authoritarian communism:** system that comes closest to totalitarian model of a party state with an all-powerful bureaucratic machine and a planned economy -> Harsh and hostile, not allowing any kind of dissent.

Jihad vs. McWorld - Barber

06 December 2017   20:23

Two possible political futures:
1. Retribalization (returning to a tribal group) of groups of people through war -> they are against every kind of interdependence, every kind of artificial social cooperation and civic mutuality. (**Forces of Jihad**)
2. One world tied together by technology, ecology, communications and commerce. (**Foces of McWorld**)

Although these two tendencies operate with equal strength in opposite directions, they have one thing in common: Neither offers much hope for democracy.

McWorld, or the globalization of politics
Four imperatives make up the dynamics of McWorld
1. **The market imperative**: International markets are eroding national sovereignty and giving rise to entities that neither reflect nor respect nationhood as an organizing or regulative principle. They demand a common language and produce common behaviours of the kind bred by cosmopolitan city life.
   It is not the same as the **democratic imperative**.
2. **A resource imperative:** Human nature is dependency. Nation don't have all the resources they need -> rely on interdependence.
3. **An information-technology imperative:** Scientific process depends on open communication, collaboration and an open flow and exchange of information. Business and commerce also depend on free information flow and want new communication technology -> these new technology compels open societies. This might lead to a homogenization of the world. 'It is less the goods than the brand names that do the work, for they convey life-style images that alter perception and challenge behaviour'.
   However this demand for openness does not demand democracy as well -> For capitalism/free market to flourish, a democracy is not necessarily needed. You only need the commercial freedom, not the political freedom.
4. **Ecological imperative ->** ecological consciousness led to greater inequality -> the planet cannot take any more industrialized countries -> modernized nations slam the door on developing countries.

Jihad, or the Lebanonization of the World
Subnational factions in permanent rebellion against uniformity and integration. **Nationalism** has a new strategy: a reactionary and divisive force, pulverizing nations instead of blending them together, like it used to do. -> post-Cold War world with a lot of small-scale wars -> aim of these: redraw boundaries, to implode states and resecure parochial (narrow minded) identities -> the atmosperic of Jihad have resulted in a breakdown of civility in the name of identity.

The darkening future of democracy
McWorld and Jihad do not need democracy nor promote democracy.
McWorld looks seductive for it brings peace, prosperity and relative unity at the cost of independence, community and identity. It privileges efficiency, productivity and beneficence at the expense of liberty and self-government. At the cost of individuality.
Jihad has different values: vibrant local identity, a sense of community, solidarity among kinsman, neighbours and countrymen. But it has an antipolitics of tribalization that is explicitly antidemocratic: one-party dictatorship, government by military junta, theocratic fundamentalism. At the price of stability and democracy.

The confederal option

Continental Drift - Michael Zantovsky

23 December 2017   08:43

Today's specter is anti-establisment: **Anti-capitalist, Anti-Semitic and Anti-European**. -> these movements are very unclear in which policies they want to and how to attain their millennial goals. -> More of a howl of frustration.
The more prominent these movements become, the more the establish parties will emphasize their irrelevance.

Classification of '**The parties of discontent':**
1. **Parties of anger** -> these are driven by unemployment, economic decline and the lack of prospects for mostly young people.
2. **Parties of Hate** -> these are driven by traditional nationalism and xenophobia.
3. **Parties of Fear** -> these are driven by immigration and the immigration crisis.

They also have one common enemy: **The European Union** -> gets blamed for everything.

Paradox of the EU: the bigger and more integrated it is, and the more powerful its Parliament becomes, the less appealing it becomes to its citizens.

Change in the composition of the European Parliament. -> New parties emerging.
Established parties: **Center-right Christian Democrats, The center-left and The Liberals**.
New parties:
Two groups with more radical ideas about change and reform originated in the opposition to the establishment:

- **The Green Group**
- **Conservative-Reformist bloc**

The other new parties consist of Communist and radical left parties

- **The European United Left/Nordic Green Left**
- **Radical anti-European parties**
- **Non-aligned non-Inscrits**
- **Several smaller radical groups with low coalition potential**

Economic decline is not necessarily the cause for high levels of discontent -> countries that did relatively well have high rates of discontent too. -> It is not the pain people have gone through that makes them radical, but the lack of conviction that things can get better (lack of prospects).

The vision of a united and free continent is what made Europe last all these years but the desire to make it whole is gone -> The most important European decisions are made by one country which makes both the country in question and the Europeans uncomfortable.

The rise of anti-establishment sentiment have their foreign sympaties, contacts and even sources of funding -> **Putin** is popular with some of the largest anti-establishment parties in Europe. He enjoys admiration of post-communist, radical socialists, right-wing nationalists and proto-fascists in equal measure.
Could there be a **new ideology** beneath the political opportunism of these alliances? -> The new Eurasian empire would be built on the principle of a common enemy: the rejection of Atlanticism, strategic control of the USA and the refusal to allow liberal values to dominate us.

The appearance of anti-establishment parties didn't come from nowhere -> they arose from the sense of **complacency**: the hope that the current problems will somehow go away, given enough time.
The main objection against making any sort of radical reform is that it could cause such turbulence that the entire structure could collapse.
To evolve, societies need to adapt, discard what has not served them well, and explore new approaches.

From the House of the Dead - Judt

24 December 2017   09:46

Holocaust recognition is the European entry ticket and is central in contemporary European politics. The Holocaust is also a symbol of Europe's regained humanity. Wasn't always the case.

We carefully documented how many Jews got deported and how many returned, but because of the influence of Anti-Semitic propaganda we didn't welcome the returning Jews. They weren't perceived as heroes (the returning deported resisters were) and their prosecution and the genocide was not to mention. There was no distinction made between the '**political refugees'** and victims of genocide. Returning Jews in Belgium were not eligible for public aid unless they were part of a resistance movement -> they were portrayed as enemy aliens.
The Netherlands also didn't feel any obligation to make amends to the Jews -> they created a point of refusing to make a distinction among its citizens on racial or any other grounds -> forced the Jews into anonymity.
In Germany, Jews started hiding their Jews identity to try to blend into society as best as they could.
There were **2 options** for the Jews in Post-war Europe:
1. Departing to Israel or America
2. Be silent and, so far as possible, invisible

People didn't want to know what happened in the concentration camps. They would rather ignore it -> works by **Primo Levi** didn't conform to this idea. -> You could discuss what happened in the camps in the private sphere, but nowhere else.

The neglect of the Jews happened in all European countries, even the ones that didn't have any direct guilt. Europeans took shelter behind a **collective amnesia** -> turn away from the recent past, or miss-remember it to better effect. (**Henry Rousso** called the **Vichy syndrome** -> wasn't unique to only France.)
In certain aspects it was easier for the Germans to engage and acknowledge the scale of their crime. Even though they successfully distanced themselves from Hitler (offered him as a scapegoat), and there weren't any nearby reminders of Nazi atrocities (carefully located them away from the Old Reich), they couldn't deny what they had done to the Jews.
Their change in mood towards Holocaust recollection was driven by a wave of anti-Semitic vandalism and the growing evidence that Yound Germans didn't know anything about the Third Reich ('50's) -> **The health of the German democracy now required Nazism to be remembered instead of forgotten.** This change shouldn't be exaggerated: a lot was still not talked about.
Not until the '70's did Jewish suffering become head of the public agenda, most importantly, because of a TV show about the Holocaust, which had enormous public impact.
Nolte: If we are to understand Nazism we have to situate it in its time and place: National Socialism was above all a response to Bolshevism: they followed and in some measure imitated the example and the threat offered by Lenin. This does not diminish the crimes of Nazism, but without the Bolshevik precedent that cannot by fully explained.
Habermas on Nolte: Nonsense, the point about Nazism is not to historicize it. The Nazi crime was unique in scale, ambition and evil. Contextualization was simply proscribed.
In other European countries they needed to first overcome self-serving local illusions before the process remembering and acknowledging could begin:
- **Switzerland:** Country was believed, by its population, to be a safe haven for any persecuted person. But with regard to the Jews, Switzerland has made efforts to keep them out. Not until 1994 did the authorities officially acknowledge this.
- **The Netherlands'** local Illusion was believing in the fact that almost every citizen had resisted and done their best to impede the German plans. It wasn't until the '70's that the Netherland agreed to pay the surviving Jewish deportees the pension that had been accorded to other victims. The social changes of the '60's help breach the official silence about the occupation.

In most occupied countries the Nazi's couldn't have succeeded in their goals without collaboration with the native, but the orders had always come from the Nazi's. The exception to this is the Vichy government in France. Under Pétain and his ministers, France initiated some projects of its own. France constructed the idea the Vichy wasn't France to clear its conscience.

This acknowledging of the Holocaust and memorializing the Jews brought some risks.

1. There was always the danger of a **backlash.** -> some people felt like the memorialization of the Jews had been taken too far.
2. The new-found salience of the Holocaust in official accounts of Europe's past carried the dangers of a **different type of distortion.**

   Because WW II, for most people, wasn't about the Jews. -> looking back with contemporary emotions and rewriting history in such a way that anti-Semitism is at the centre is too easy.

   We also shouldn't assume that most other Europeans experienced WW II the way the Jews experienced it -> will lead to another layer of mis-memory.

   In Eastern Europe there were far greater efforts to erase public memory of the Holocaust -> not by ignoring them but by making people repeat it in textbooks and making memorials, the Jews were just not a part of these memorials.

   If Eastern Europe paid less attention to the suffering of the Jews, it is because the Communist regimes that followed forged a whole new chapter of resentments and memories.

Totalitarianism - Arendt

26 December 2017   17:24

Human rights

The declaration of the rights of man -> from now on man, and not God, should be the source of Law. Human rights had to be invoked when individuals needed protections against the sovereignty of the state. Because the sovereignty of the people didn't draw power from a consent from Gob but from man itself, it was supposed to be inalienable. -> turned out the once a human being didn't belong to a national government, and thus needed to fall back on human rights, there was no one left to guarantee these. **Loss of national rights -> loss of human rights.**
Human rights gained a **new connotation**: a right of exception for those who had nothing better to fall back upon.
Human rights were supposed to be integrated in **civil rights**. -> if the laws of one's country didn't live up to the standard of Human rights the inhabitants of that country should, democratically, change them.
No one was sure what the loss of human rights meant:
1. The first loss is **the loss of home and the possibility of finding a new one.** -> whenever someone was thrown out of one member of a tightly organised family of nations, they would be thrown out of this family all together with no option of joining another member.
2. The second loss is **the loss of government protection.** People who fall out of the legislation of one nation also fall out of all other legislation due to a web of international agreements. These 'refugees' that lost their human rights were persecuted based on what they were and not on what they did or thought. Losing human rights, however, does not necessarily put someone in a state of absolute rightlessness.
3. The third (and biggest) loss is **the loss of community.** -> it is only when a rightless person doesn't get claimed by a community that there life becomes endangered.
   Even freedom is worth nothing when you don't have rights: Freedom of movements is nothing is you don't have the right of residence and freedom of opinion is worthless because your opinion doesn't count.
   The fundamental for being classified as 'being deprived of human rights' is when you don't belong to a community which makes your actions and opinions significant.

A loss of human rights = a loss of relevance of speech = loss of essential characteristics of human life -> makes the rightless like slaves and expels them from humanity. Only the loss of **polity** (a from or process of civil government or constitutions) expels one from humanity.
Human rights should remain valid even if a human being is expelled from the human community -> the right to have rights should be guaranteed by humanity itself, but this idea poses some complications:
An political organ to guarantee this transcends the current sphere of international law -> solved by the establishment of a world government? -> might turn out differently than we expect.
If religion and nature lose all their power we get a conception of law which identifies 'right' with 'what is good for' -> **Plato:** *"Not man, but a god, must be the measure of all things"*

Burke's solutions: We should rely on entailed inheritance of rights where and to claim one's rights to the 'rights of an Englishman' rather than the inalienable rights of man (are too abstract). -> results in the same problem of loss of national rights = loss of human rights, but poses the solution that restoration of national rights = restoration of human rights.
People who have nothing left cling to their former nationality to not lose become rightless. The rightless are similar to savages, if we follow Burke's argument, in the sense that they live and die without a trace and don't contribute to a community.
Danger: a global universally interrealated civilization may produce barbarians (savages) from its own midst by forcing millions of people in to conditions that are similar to those of savages.

Totalitarianism: A novel form of government

Looking back on the few political systems we have had over the past 2500 years, we can view

totalitarianism as a form of tyranny -> However, it defies the basis of political philosophy: it is neither lawful nor lawless for it adheres to the laws of History and Nature.

Totalitarianism broke the link with the civilized world by committing crimes -> but it also forced international relation to appear and thus constituted a civilized world.

In the interpretation of totalitarianism, all laws have become laws of movements. (Nazi's adhered to the law of nature, and Bolsheviks to the law of History). History and Nature are no longer the stabilizing source of authority, but movements themselves.

Terror is the essence of totalitarian domination. It becomes total when it becomes independent of all opposition and when nobody stands in its way. -> its main aim is to make it possible for the forces of History and Nature to progress. -> For the Nazi's the movement of nature meant that certain races that were unfit to live would die out, and for the Bolsheviks the movement of History meant a class struggle and eventually certain classes would wither away. Killing Jews, for example, was only helping these forces since they could not be stopped but only slowed down.

Freedom and the possibility for a new beginning slow these movements down -> terror is used to limit a prerequisite of freedom: the capacity of motion by limiting space, and thus limits freedom.

Totalitarianism needs to guide the behaviour of its citizens as preparation to fit either the role of executioner or the role of victim (**objective enemy)**.

Totalitarian ideology:

1. Claims to provide a total explanation of the past, present and to give reliable prediction of the future
2. Indoctrinate its public to always suspect secret meanings -> produces a mentality in which the reality is automatically assumed to mean something else.

Totalitarian leaders used logic to transform their ideology into a weapon. This logic was spread through the entire political structure. -> not the idea of the ideology but the logical process developed from it is important.

Totalitarian dictatorship - Friedrich and Brzezinski

27 December 2017   12:21

Totalitarian dictatorship is the twentieth century application of autocracy.

Three theses:
1. Totalitarianism if one of a kind
2. Fascist and communist dictatorship are the **basically** same / more like each other than any other form of government.
3. How totalitarianism developed wasn't the goal of its creators, but the result of the political situation of that time.

These three theses are interconnected and must be **examined together.**

Theory on totalitarianism: the **essence** of totalitarianism is to be seen as the control over the attitudes and action of its citizens.

Objections:
- Pragmatic objection: it may be their intent but it is doomed for disappointment; no such control was achieved.
- Comparative historical objection: this intent upon total control has been seen before but it wasn't called totalitarianism back then.

The **difference** between totalitarianism and other form of government are the organisations and methods developed with modern technology dedicated to the construction of a mass society.

Explanations of the origins of totalitarianism based on ideology are based on distortion of historical facts. All non-ideological factors played a role in the origin of totalitarianism -> only a **multi-factor analysis** will suffice (which we don't have).

Communist and fascist dictatorships are **basically alike, not wholly alike** -> these two totalitarian regimes conceived each other as bitter enemies and therefore should have the view that they have nothing in common. -> they are not completely alike but **alike enough to classify them together**.

6 basic traits of totalitarian dictatorships:
1. An elaborate ideology
2. A single mass party led by one man
3. A system of terror
4. A technologically conditioned, near-complete monopoly of control of all means of effective mass communication
5. A similarly technologically conditioned, near-complete monopoly of the effective use of all weapons and armed combat
6. A central control and direction of the entire economy.

None of these 6 traits can be found in any of the preceding authoritarian regimes -> totalitarianism is one of a kind.

Four of the six traits are technologically conditioned (3 - 6) -> totalitarian societies are exaggerations of the technological state of modern society.

Totalitarianism is an **autocratic variant of democracy** -> constitutional democracy could develop into a totalitarian regime.

The end of history? - Fukuyama

24 January 2018   10:46

Triumph of Western political liberalism is visible in the exhaustion of viable alternatives to the Western model. -> **end of history**: the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.

Marx on the end of History: the direction of historical development was a purposeful one determined by the interplay of material forces, and would come to an end only with the achievement of a communist utopia.
Hegel on the end of History: history would culminate in an absolute moment - a moment in which a final, rational form of society and state became victorious. -> 1806 when Napoleon defeated the Prussian army and the ideals of the French revolution were victorious.
Human history was characterized by conflict based on contradictions, but in a universal homogenous state, all contradictions are resolved -> no more conflict -> end of History.

Contradictions that drive History exist first of all in the realm of human consciousness (on the level of ideas) - **Hegel**. He did not believe that the real world conformed or could be made to conform to ideological preconceptions in any way, or that the 'material world' could not impinge on the ideal -> relation between the material world and the world of consciousness was **only apparent.**
All human behaviour in the material world is rooted in a prior state of consciousness. And this reals of consciousness becomes manifest in the material world/creates the material world in its own image.
Materialism: discounts the importance of ideology and culture and sees man as essentially a rational, profit-maximizing individual. (**Materialism vs. Hegel).**

Weber: The choices of leisure over income cannot be explained by the impersonal working of material forces, but come out of the sphere of consciousness. -> the material mode of production was not in itself a "base" but a "superstructure" with roots in religion and culture. -> **opposing Marx**

Are there any challenges/contradiction left that oppose Western Liberalism? -> only look at the challenges posed by political forces that are part of world history. Two major challengers: **Fascism and Communism:**

- **Fascism:** was destroyed on both a material level and an ideological level. -> There was no material why there shouldn't be any new fascist movements, but they didn't spring up because it had completely lost its appeal (ideologically destroyed)
- **Communism:** Western society has resolved the class issue envisioned by Marx by making a society that is fundamentally egalitarian. -> resulted in a lower appeal for communism.

This moves in a spiral pattern.
The base is generally dominant.

In Asian countries slowly became increasingly Liberal **economic liberalism -> political liberalism** (Inevitable: Hegel). China as the biggest communist nation in Asia has also begun to implement features of economic liberalism, even though it clearly isn't a liberal democracy. These economic reforms avoided the economical breakdown of the communist (as happened to the Soviet Union) -> there will only be more pressure to change the political system to a liberal one.

Two other competitors:
- **Religion:** Revival of religion is accountable to the impersonality and the emptiness of liberalism. But Liberalism itself is a reaction on the weakness of religiously-based societies, which could not provide a good structure for government.
- **Nationalism:** A very large degree of conflict has its roots in nationalism -> most nationalist movements do not have a political program/agenda -> therefore they aren't that big of a competitor.

Hobbesian view of politics applied to international relations -> assumes that aggression and insecurity are universal
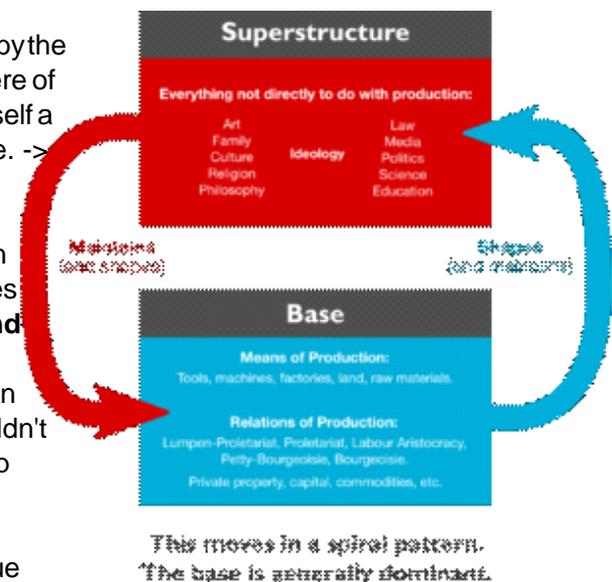
characteristics of human societies rather than the product of specific historical circumstances.
Believed that de-ideologized world would look like 19th century Europe.
Expansionist ideology: It was okay for "developed" countries to rule over lower 'undeveloped' countries.

On Liberty - Mill

24 January 2018   14:16

Liberty in Old times was the protection against the tyranny of the political rulers. -> the power of the rulers was seen as a necessity, but also as highly dangerous. -> the aim of patriots was to set limits to the power of the ruler; this limitation is what they meant by liberty. Attempted in 2 ways:
1. By obtaining political liberties (**Rights)**, which the ruler was expected to adhere to
2. The establishment of constitutional checks -> a political body of some sorts that represented the interest of the people.

Later people wanted hat the rulers should be identified with the people; that their interest and will should be the interest and will of the nation.

Democratic Republic -> the people who exercise the power, are not always the same people with those over whom it is exercised. -> the people belonging to majority may desire to oppress a minority in society -> precautions are as much needed against this, as against any other abuse of power. (**tyranny of the majority**)

Determining principles in the rules of conduct
1. Human behaviour is affected by all the multifarious causes which influence their wishes in regard to the conduct of others.
2. Wherever there is an ascendant class, a large portion of the morality of the country emanates from that class' interests.
3. The servility of mankind towards the supposed preferences or aversions of their temporal masters/gods.

Basic principle of the text: the sole end for which mankind are warranted is self-protection. The Only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. In the part which merely concerns himself, his independence is absolute. Over himself, the individual is sovereign.

There are often good reasons to NOT hold someone responsible;
- The type of case in which he is on the whole likely to act better, when left to his own discretion, than when controlled in any way in which society as the power to control him
- Or because the attempt to exercise control would produce other evils, greater than those which it would prevent.

This principle comprises:
1. The inward domain if consciousness and liberty of thought and feeling -> absolute freedom of opinion and sentiment on all subjects.
2. The liberty of tastes and pursuits -> doing aw we like, so long as what we do does not harm other people.
3. From this liberty of each individual, follows the liberty of combination among individuals -> freedom to unite for any purpose not involving harm to others.

The urge of mankind to impose their own opinions and inclinations as a rule of conduct on others, is so energetically supported that it is hardly ever kept under restraint by anything but want of power. We'll only see this urge increasing unless we can construct a strong barrier of moral conviction.

John Stuart Mill's 'Very simple Principle' - Clausen

25 January 2018 16:41

The argument posed in Mill's *On Liberty* remains as hotly debated today as it was in 1859. -> Mill's starting point is **Utilitarianism (**the doctrine that the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the only rational foundation for morals and legislation). -> However, as a foundation for individual liberty (the topic of Mill's work), utilitarianism shows some flaws. For example, making health insurance mandatory because it would increase overall happiness, limits the individual freedom.

Mill announces that three kinds of opinions exist:
- **True ones**
- **False ones**
- **A mixture of the ones mentioned above**

In a widely held belief is false, then an individual or minority that challenges it, however unpopular their views may be, is doing a public service.

Mill claimed that even the most farfetched views must be freely stated in order that the truth may be better understood -> advocate of **free speech**.

Distinguishing liberal democracy's challengers - Pappas

25 January 2018   16:59

1. Not all of democracy's challengers are the same.
2. Their rise is not traceable to a single cause, and hence should not be expected to prompt a single response.

3 interrelated tasks that comprised the enterprise of the E.U.:
- **Spreading pluralist parliamentary democracy** -> gradually, nation after nation. Began with the Allied victory over Fascism, and advanced with events like the destruction of the Berlin Wall.
- **Forging a multi-ethnic and multicultural union of peoples and states** -> in parallel with political democracy, per capita wealth rose and income inequality fell. -> arrival of immigrant in the 1960s formed multicultural societies.
- **The continual advancement of political liberalism**

Challengers to post war democracy should be assign to categories that are mutually exclusive.
1. **Anti democrats** -> opposed to the pillar of democratic representation.
They can occur both on the left and on the right side of the political spectrum. Right-wing antidemocrats advocate highly nationalist ideologies and are therefore hostile towards the EU and immigration. Left-wing antidemocrats promote proletarian dictatorship and are against European integration.
2. **Nativists** -> opposed to the pillar of European integration
Nativist parties have the policy of protecting the interests of native-born inhabitants against those of immigrants, according to Pappas. It becomes more prominent when diversity is present and decreases in importance when there is ethnic homogeneity. In present-day Europe, it has risen along with immigration and multiculturalism.
3. **Populists** -> opposed to the pillar of political liberalism
Pappas defines populism as: "democratic illiberalism" and describes populist parties as parties "whose members have the specific characteristics of being at once democratic and illiberal. For a party to be populist it must bear allegiance to democracy and it must enforce illiberal tactics.

TABLE 1—POLITICAL-PARTY TYPES IN REPRESENTATIVE LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

		Democraticness	
		Y	N
Liberalism	Y	Liberal*	*Absurdum*
	N	Populist	Antidemocratic

*Includes both non-nativist and nativist parties.

The differences between these groups are illustrated in a table using two criteria: democraticness and liberalism. A party is democratic when it takes part in competitive elections, and offers allegiance to representative pluralist democracy (Pappas, p: 31). A party is liberal when it commits to the following propositions: It is normal for society to be divided by many, often cross-cutting, cleavages; the best way to manage these cleavages is through free and open debate within a larger political culture that values moderation and seeks consensus; and the rule of law and the rights of minorities must be respected (Pappas, p: 31).

He continues to classify the three categories as follow: Antidemocratic parties are neither democratic nor liberal; Liberal parties (this includes nativist as well as non-nativist parties) are both democratic and liberal; Populist parties are Democratic, but not liberal. Finally, he adds that there are currently no parties that are liberal but not democratic, and therefore this option appears as a null set.

Review session

Arendt

 weltanschauungen -> closed world view, closes the perception through a lens working on certain assumption (Communism/fascism)

Totalitarianism is something that human society has never seen before -> different from everything we've had in our history. It's not a lawful state, but is also no lawless (like a tyranny) -> superhuman law, every individual action doesn't matter.